This policy of giving an official title to the chiefs of those Ezo who had submitted themselves to the Japanese and then letting them rule was a unique policy. Even after the 1669 incident chiefs continued to visit the Lord of Matsumae and present him with gifts. From 1684 to 1687 the natives from west Ezo paid annual visits. In 1731 the Ezo from Etorofu and Kunashiri came, and from 1751 to 1763 the chief of Kushiro came to Fukuyama bearing gifts.

In addition, the influence of the Matsumae was reaching to the more distant natives. Those Ezo chiefs came to Japan at certain dates to visit the daimyō and exchange gifts. This voyage was called *"Shamu Uimamu"* [Japan trade] and the boat used was a *"Uimamu Chippu"* [trade boat]. The sake received was *"uimamu"* sake or idiomatically *"Uimamu tonoto."* The word "uimamu" comes from either the Japanese *uimamu* [initial meeting] or *Omemie* [first meeting].[38] In 1739 the *Hokkai Zuihitsu* notes:

> Each spring they came in a boat loaded with goods to Matsumae to pay respects to the lord. Their attitude was most respectful. After landing at Matsumae they would go to a cabin to rest but never would they go out without seeing the lord. Only after having been received in his presence would they go into town for business. The Ezo of remote areas did not come each year but those living near Matsumae showed themselves every spring.

And from *Watarishima Hikki:* "It used to be that once during his lifetime the *Otona* came to pay the lord a visit. Each chief would bring a gift as tribute and the vessel used for this purpose was especially decorated and called a *Uimamchipu";* and from *Ezo Dan Hikki:* "When the Ezo came to visit the Matsumae they brought with them goods produced in their region. The Matsumae would give them gifts in return." These trips were also made for the purpose of trading but as the Japanese preferred to interpret the trip in its political sense the visit gradually lost its commercial character and its emphasis became exclusively that of a tribute mission. This, in later years, developed into a New Year's ceremony or a ceremonial audience. Thus, rites were part of the methods used to rule the natives. A typical example is that of Iwanosuke of Kennichi who disguised as an Ezo paid tribute to the lord on January 7 of each year.[39] On the occasion of each visit the Japanese took good care to demonstrate their power in addition to giving many gifts. In a book written in

---

[38] *Ainu Kenkyū*, 53 and Kida Teikichi, Tsugaru ryōnai ni okeru Ezo kankei no shiryō to tomo kenkyū (Historical materials and their study in connection with the Ezo of Tsugaru), *Tōhoku Bunka Kenkyū* 2 (2).

[39] "To the west of Matsumae is a village called Kennichi where a farmer by the name of Iwanosuke (formerly an Ezo chief by the name of Iwanoshike) has been living for many years. Ordinarily he dresses his hair in the Japanese manner but, when winter comes he follows the custom of the Ezo and does not cut his hair. On January 7 he would visit the lord at the castle where, seating himself on a new mat laid out in the yard in front of the study, he would receive crude sake. This was an old custom of the Ezo." *Ezo Sōshi.*

A F
the *Kaishō*. Places for the evacuation of the children and
*648 the old are to be prepared beforehand so that no one may
be taken prisoner and to eliminate any confusion.
*175 7. In the past rice, tobacco, and sake have been brought
576 in small amounts from Akkeshi *Basho* for trade. But ever
671 since the Shogunate started to develop this area the people
here have been diligent and the Shogunate has been generous enough to provide them with rice, sake, and tobacco
in abundant amounts, as well as other necessities. The
reason that many Japanese officials are stationed here is
A F to protect this island from foreign countries and to educate
the people. Appreciation is expected for these consid-
*648 erations and the people should work hard as ever under the
*175 direction of the contractor, manager, and guards. In
671 comparison to the difficulties encountered in the past by
the people of this island the fact that everyone now lives in
abundance and without fear should be greatly appreciated
and the benevolence of the Shogunate conveyed to posterity.
8. Naturally those engaged in fishing should labor
A F diligently under the contractor, manager, and guards and
preparations made for lean years by storing food in spare
time.
[931] 9. Eagle tails shall be prepared, in winter, as has been
done in the past and taken to the *Kaishō* when the *Otona*
goes there for the New Year's greetings. Any other
A articles obtained shall first be inspected at the guardhouse
[622] after which they shall be presented to the *Kaishō* by the
Otona when he calls on business.
Supplement: Since barter in furs and skins is prohibited
to the guards, the *Otona* will inform all villages not to
violate this prohibition.
A 10. As old customs are being revised, one should make
one's language follow that of the guards.
● [307] 11. Recently people with disheveled hair have been
noticed. Everyone is on notice to dress his hair.
F 12. When young men reach a certain age, they shall take
[582] a wife. It is forbidden, even for *Otona*, to have many
mistresses.
A F 13. Since doctors are available, those falling ill shall
[624] immediately report to the *Kaishō* for treatment. Further-
[659] more, it is the duty of *Otona* and *Kozukai* to see that all
unfortunates, including the sick, the old without family,
and the blind, are well taken care of and such cases, reported to the *Kaishō* will be taken care of by the Shogunate
via the *Kaishō*.
14. If anyone, contractors, managers, guards, and even
subjects at the guardhouse, acts in an unreasonable or
unjust manner, such action is to be reported immediately
and, in case there are matters which it is preferred not
to report to the manager, they are to be reported directly
to the guard posts through any villager capable of interpreting. Any other business which requires either immediate notice or privacy of handling may also be reported
to the guard post as above.
15. All villagers are to maintain a coastal watch and
report any unusual incident to the *Kaishō*. Such watch
shall, from time to time, be conducted at night.
16. In accord with previous instructions no camp or other
type of fire is permitted near *Kaishō* or guardhouses in the
mountains. The *Otona* is to relay this order to all his
people.
The regulations and instructions mentioned above are to
A be strictly observed and their meaning conveyed to all
*648 people.[1]
576
527 It should be noted that the significance of *Omusha*
178 changes from that of the previous period. Previously

[1] *Ezo Fūzoku Ian* 2: 1.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
A E *648 1777 *175

taught the moral law should be left alone and treated like beasts. Measures should be undertaken gradually.[67]

Thus opinion blocked any hasty attempt to alter customs while for their part the Ezo also opposed such change stating that they would be "punished by ancestral gods"[68] and that, "the punishment of God would be unavoidable."[69] There were natives who attempted to flee to Matsumae or to the mountains and natives like those at Horoizumi *Basho* who, after being treated with sake and then having shaved their heads, were ostracized by their companions.[70]

The Bakufu thereupon took a more passive attitude towards this problem. When in January, 1789, one of their agents, without the approval of his superiors but on the request of the natives, helped the Nemuro Ezo to change their customs, the Bakufu ordered him to submit a detailed account.[71] Further, when in 1802 East Ezo became a permanent domain of the central government and the Hakodate Magistracy was established, the policy of forcing change was dropped and, when it was understood that the Ezo disliked agriculture, only the Japanese in the area were encouraged in that pursuit and the natives were excused from it.[72]

A [241]

[67] Uchida Ginzō, "Arata ni hakken seraretaru Baba Masamichi no ichi 'icho ni tsuite" (On the newly found will of Baba Masamichi), *Kokumin Keizai Zasshi* 21 (2).

[68] *Ibid.*

[69] *Ezo Shōshi* 2.

[70] "When I visited the island, I came to a place called Shiroi where a native by the name of Asakao brought me a horse on which I was to travel. Now this Ezo was a clever person and was able to understand Japanese to a certain extent. . . . I fell into a conversation with him and tried to learn something of his people. He lamented the fact that the Bakufu officials were too strict and that trade was conducted with little consideration for anything but rigid regulations. Among other matters, he mentioned that, although it might not be desirable for Ezo customs to differ from those of the Japanese, nevertheless the customs of his people had been handed down to them from the gods of their ancestors. Therefore, should his people attempt to alter their ways now, they would certainly be punished by their gods. Thus speaking, the native gave vent to a genuine fear of invoking divine wrath. . . ." Baba Masamichi, *Chōyayoron*: "The Ezo were thus afraid of having to shave their heads and trembled at hearing that their customs were to be changed. When the land was placed directly under the Bakufu and the natives were ordered to shave their heads, there was not one Ezo willing to do so. It was said among them that as a last resort to avoid having their heads shaved, they could escape to Matsumae territory or take to the hills. All in all, the Ezo seemed to be quite worried. When a young man at Horoizumi agency was persuaded to shave his head and follow Japanese customs and was given rice and sake, his relations deplored it saying that to die of illness, though a sorrowful thing, cannot be avoided, but that he who shaves his head and alters his traditional appearance and who cannot associate with his fellows is sure to receive punishment from the gods. He will not be accepted in Ezo society and will, probably in desperation, turn evil." *Ezo Shōshi* 3.

A [302]

A [156]

[71] *Kyume Kōki*, Suppl. 5 Nemuro Basho Ijin Fūzoku Kaiko ni tsuki moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report on the changing of Ezo customs at Nemuro *Basho*).

[72] Written instruction to managers departing in the year Inu: The primary policy in Ezo is that of control of the island. As

1 :Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
A
F
*698
177
*175

ance, become Japanese. Assumed ages were given them, as well as names and they were, *although illiterate*, raised to the position of *Otona*. Natives of other islands call these people new *Shamo* which, in the Ezo tongue, means Japanese.[73]

In Yamazaki Hanzō's *Higashi Ezo Kikō* we read:

> The Ezo women (mostly mistresses of the guards) through the intervention of Kodama Kanai, tie their hair in Katsuyama fashion, were attired in beautiful costumes and in no way appeared like country women from out back. However, their tattooed faces made a shocking contrast to the way in which they were dressed.

So, although the natives preferred to be called Ainu instead of Ezo and enjoyed being termed *"murakata,"* they had no idea of what these words meant. They changed their appearance but were nothing more than illiterate new *Shamo* and the women, although they dressed their hair in the Japanese style, could not obliterate the tattooes on their faces and hands. So once their hair was untied or the shaven head had again grown hair, they were back where they had started. Therefore, when the policy of induced change was abandoned after the Russian invasion of 1808, the Ezo immediately went back to their old life. According to the *Ansei Sannen Rokugatsu Etorofu Basho Hikiwatasu Shorui* [Documents Relative to the Transfer of Authority in Ezo *Basho* in June, 1856], there was only one woman who still retained the Japanese customs and she was an old woman who otherwise could not have obtained any government subsidy for her livelihood.

A
[302]

8. SUMMARY

With the assumption of direct administration in 1799, the policy of the Government toward the Hokkaidō Ainu became an important issue and, as a result of discussions, various policies were attempted. As order rapidly spread throughout Ezo accompanied by a well-managed administrative structure, an edifice of government became evident. While much of the new structure was the result of unifying and further developing the older systems, a new look was apparent. Ezo-land was divided into a number of administrative districts with an appointed *Sō Otona* supervising the other Ezo. The instructions of the Bakufu were passed on to the natives through the *Sō Otona* while those matters with which the Bakufu was not concerned were left for the natives themselves to settle. However, the Ezo were not left complete responsibility to settle such matters, for a basic law was enacted which was administered by officials with broad authority, so that in the governmental relationships of Ezo the natives played a subordinate part. The cultural policy undertaken before this period was a negative one, of preventing, as far as possible, assimilation and therefore the use of Japanese dress and language, and the practice of farming was discouraged. But 1799 marks the beginning of an official policy of assimilation. Instruction was given

F
[636]

[73] Italics by Takakura.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

888
291
301
302
142

AN OLD AINU FRIEND

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

A-2 They are upright in
[481] carriage and have a light, lithe, springy walk when young. Their noses are short and straight, flattish and rounded at the nostrils. Their mouths are wide, as a rule, and the lips thick. The neck is short and the brow high, broad and massive. The eye-socket is round and the eyebrows thick and long. They speak of themselves as people of the "same eye-socket" in contradistinction to their Japanese neighbours, whose eyes are very often almond-shaped. Just as the Jews of old said "bone of my bone" and "flesh of my flesh" to indicate blood relationship, so the old Ainu even
149 today say, "people of the same eye-socket," when they
826 refer to their own people. To have round, fat, red, chubby faces is considered by them to be very beautiful, and a fine pair of dark brown, twinkling, wide-awake round eyes peeping from under the eyebrows is quite a pleasing phenomenon. Especially is this so with children. Wavy hair is much prized among them, and one who has curly hair is said to be a person having the "hair of the gods."

826 The beards of the men form a remarkable feature
● 900 among them. They are very proud of them, more especially if they are extra long. And they take great care of them. I was once asked if I could give a man some grease or oil to put on his hair to make it look more glossy and grow longer! "What do you use yourself?" he asked! I have seen fine bushy beards more than a foot long among them, which, when turned white, gave the men a very dignified, venerable and patriarchal appearance. But I am bound to say that
[65] one does not now meet with so many old men as one did fifty years ago. The people do not seem to live so long now as they did in years gone by.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

413

A COMMON MOUSTACHE-LIFTER.

A CEREMONIAL MOUSTACHE-LIFTER.

The moustache also is very thick and sometimes 302
gets in the way when drinking or taking soup, so the 413
men have invented a kind of "lifter" for them. These 264
instruments are pieces of wood shaved down flat, about 782
nine inches long, pointed at one end, and an inch or so wide. With these they hold their moustaches up and so keep them out of their food or whatever they may be drinking. The pointed end is to dip into the *saké* or anything they may be drinking at the time, and so take out a few drops and offer them as libations to the gods; even soup is sometimes thus offered. Fuji, the Goddess of Fire, especially, comes in for a portion. The libations are offered with deep reverence and may be regarded as a kind of "grace" said before meat. Should there happen to be no "lifter" near when needed, they use the index finger instead to hold up the moustache. One wonders why they have not invented moustache-cups for themselves.

When I first came among them I found that the 826
people were very careful not to lose any of their hair. As Samson's strength was said to be in his hair, so the Ainu appeared to imagine their life depended in good measure on theirs. Many years ago a woman came to me in great distress because her son had been detained in a Japanese prison and the authorities there had shaved his head. This, she declared, was a double punishment and a very severe one, because the cutting off of the hair would surely shorten the poor boy's life!

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

826 The lad himself thought likewise, and I am sure the auto-suggestion thus brought about injured his health.

302 826 The hair of both men and women was cut off just above the shoulders at the sides, and at the back in the form of a quarter moon. When clipping the hair, as was, of course, sometimes necessary, the people were very careful not to allow an enemy to get hold of any of it. Should he obtain even a little, he might practise sympathetic magic by praying over it for evil to rest upon the original possessor. Or he might bury it and thus cause the man's body to grow weak and his life to fade away. I find an echo of this belief in what an Ainu once told me. It was this:

177 302 "In the days of the Tokugawa régime the people were ordered to cut their hair in Japanese style. Upon this order going forth, the chiefs of Yezo (now called Hokkaidō) held a great meeting at which it was decided to send a deputation to beg that the order might be rescinded. "For," said the people, "we could not go contrary to the customs of our ancestors without bringing down upon us the wrath of the gods." And, although a few of the Ainu living at Mori did cut their hair as commanded, the people as a whole were let off, much to their delight. It may be added in this place that, although there are still Ainu at Mori, they have become so Japonized in thought, customs and language, as well as in dress, that they are indistinguishable from the Japanese among whom they dwell.

302 765 826 But there are exceptions in which hair cutting was not only allowed but actually commanded. They were in cases of death where mourning for the dead was considered necessary and proper. One order about this was as follows. "Should a man lose his wife by death, let him immediately cut his hair and assume a general look of dejection. But he may not, as is done in the case of the women, wear a hood upon his head, because [776] he must worship the gods and mix with men. It is not befitting in a man to approach the gods having his

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

head covered. Should anyone cut his hair, unless it be on the occasion of a death, misfortune will follow; either he himself or some of his near relations will die soon after it. So have the gods taught. Let all therefore beware."

Another legend runs thus: "In ancient times, when the Divine One came down from heaven to teach the people, he said: 'Let any woman whose husband dies cut and pluck her hair out and look very miserable. Let her also wear a hood upon her head. If she does not look sad and remain apart from other people, someone might want to marry her and that would be a very bad thing to do. No widow should allow her hair to grow long again, nor should anyone who has lost a husband or wife remarry. This is because husbands and wives rejoin one another in the world beyond the grave.'" So taught Aeoina the Divine. But, although superstitions die hard, the barber has now come in, so that this one respecting the hair is rapidly disappearing, for both young men and women now dress their hair in foreign fashion.

Apropos of this matter, it is very interesting to remark that it is reported how Satan himself once preached a sermon from the pulpit of North Berwick Church, in which he comforted his many servants by telling them that so long as their hair was on, no harm could come to them!

But speaking more particularly to the point of the general appearance of this people—one friend said to me when visiting them, "How very like the Japanese some of them are! Look at those children! Why, I see no difference between them and the Japanese boys and girls playing with them!" But this, I pointed out, was not at all to be wondered at, considering what we know about child adoption and intermarriage. Of course they resemble one another, as we find them doing throughout the whole of Japan. Adoption of Japanese children has in past ages been one great way

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342

A SMALL HUT

462
446
● 302
291

WOMEN POUNDING MILLET

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
302

WINTER CLOTHING

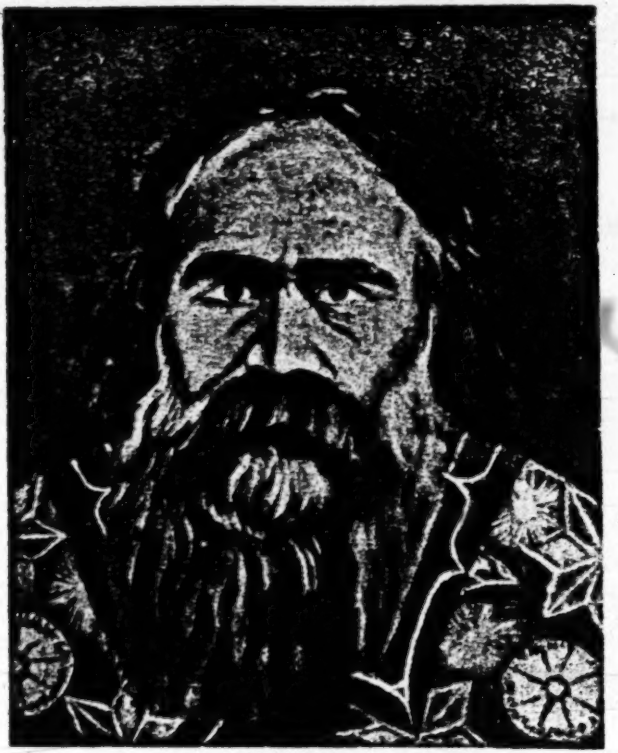
SALMON-SKIN SHOES

SANDALS

[P. 52 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

622
302
142
291



CHIEF PENKI

[p. 58(A)]

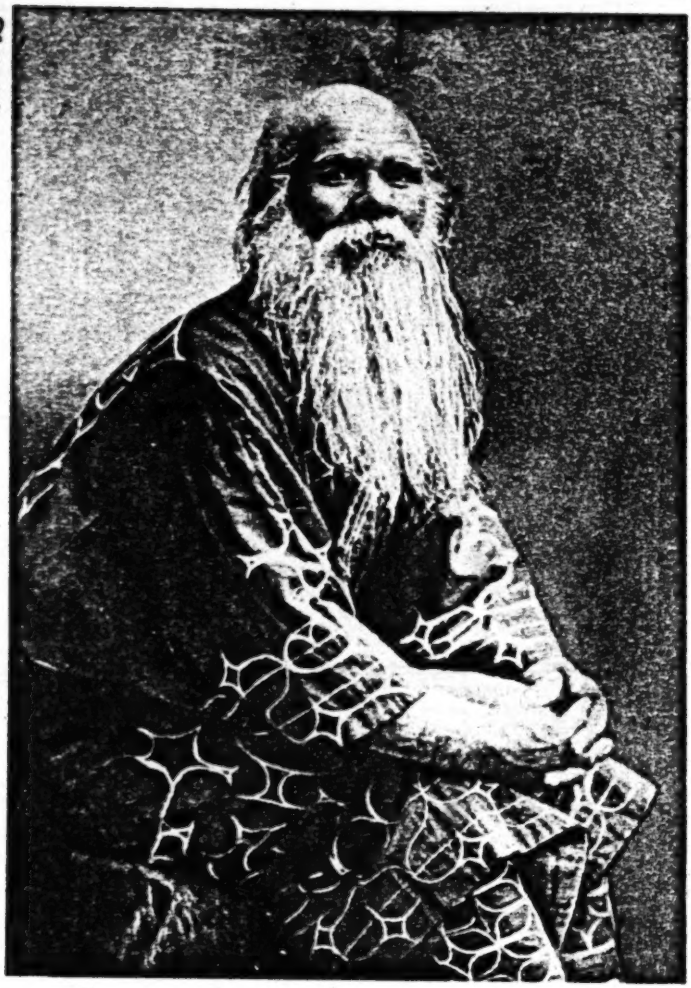
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

888
302
562
516

TWO OLD AINU WOMEN

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

302
291
516



PARAPITA

2- Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
291
411
516

A JAPANESE DRAWING OF AN OLD AINU WARRIOR

[P. 126(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

882
562
291
293
●302
301

DRESSED IN HER BEST

[p. 134-(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

756
142
●302

A SHAMAN

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
302
411

TWO FRIENDS OF 1880

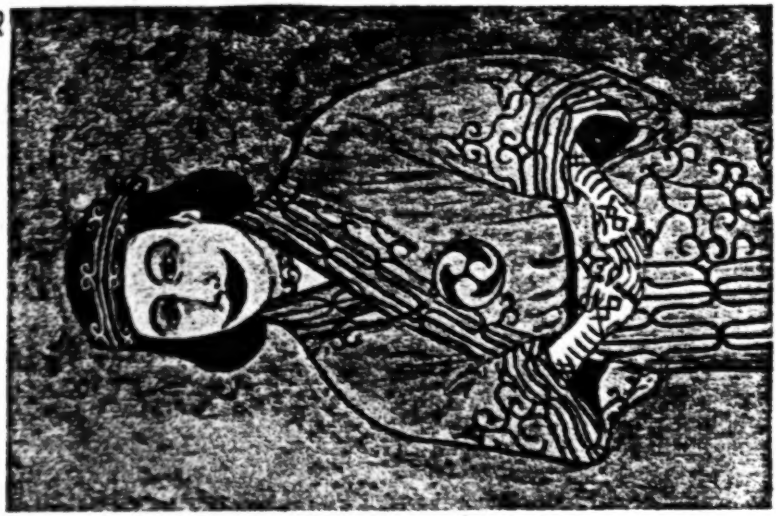
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302

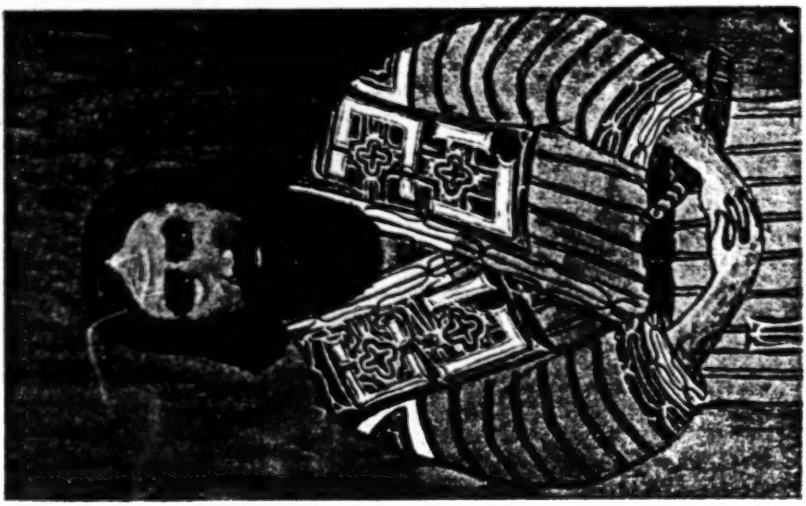
A GOOD FRIEND

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

532
516
291
● 302
304



YAI-MAII
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

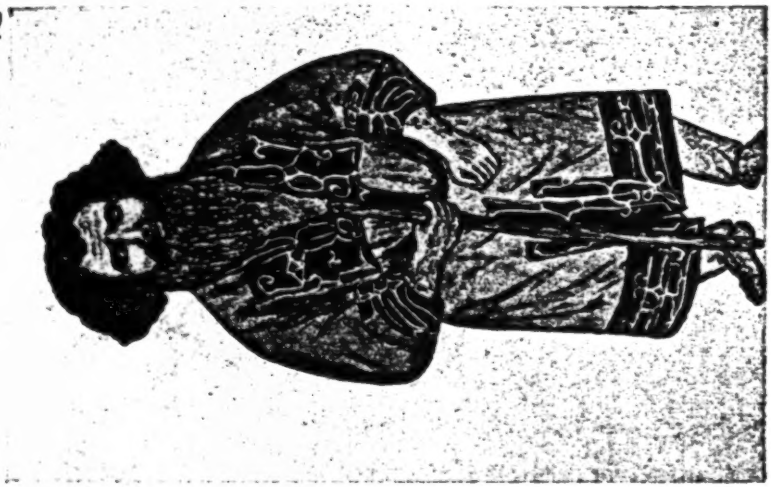


KUTRI
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

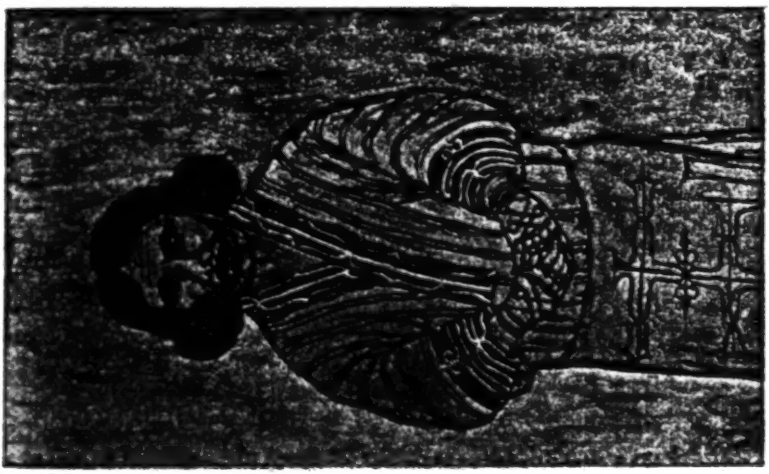
[p. 436(A)

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
●302
304



WENKU OF THE STIFF ARM
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu



ARA-SHIK OF THE WEAK EYE
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P 440(A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

114 In describing the Ainos it must be said that, unless otherwise stated, the word Aino, as used by the present author, is restricted to the Ainos of Yezo. The importance of this distinction may be seen by comparing the group of so-called Tsuishikari Ainos (Pl. LXXXII), and the single and very excellent type shown in Plate LXXXIII, with the group of Yezo Ainos from Abashiri in Plate LXXXIV, and in the succeeding illustrations. In the Abashiri group the man sitting cross-legged near the the middle undoubtedly belongs to the Tsuishikari type. The latter came from Sag-
[361 halin in 1875 and settled in the rich valley of the Ishikari to the num-
166] ber of seven or eight hundred. They were visited by Mr. J. M. Dixon*
[131] in the year 1882. At that time he found them about 12 miles from Sapporo, at the junction of the Ishikari and Toyohira Rivers. When I reached Sapporo in 1888, intending to visit them, I learned that they had all moved to Atsuta, about 26 miles from Sapporo, on the Ishikari. Unfortunately I was unable to visit them, but through the courtesy of Mr. H. Sato, of the Sapporo Agricultural College, I was able to secure a valuable collection of articles from them, which are now in the Museum.

302 The Tsuishikari Ainos differ in several respects from the Ainos of Yezo. The men are distinguished by a peculiar manner of shaving the hair back from the forehead. Mr. Dixon says they also "cut their hair at the back into the neck." The women have bright, pleasing faces,
172 and tattoo the mouth, like the Yezo Ainos, with a broad band reaching
304 well to the ears. Their utensils differ slightly from those found among the Yezo Ainos, and their language is similar, but not quite the same.
415 The two wooden dishes represented in Fig. 69 are quite different from
[197] any which I saw among the Yezo Ainos. The one marked 150774 is said to be used as a rice bowl. It is 12 inches in length. The other,
142 150777, is presumably a fish plate. The Ainos are characterized by a strong growth of hair about the legs and body, long black hair on the head, and heavy beards. Writers have occasionally asserted that the Ainos are not generally more hairy than other people, but I have elsewhere shown how such an error might be explained. My own observations of what I regard as a purer Aino stock than is usually seen by travelers in Yezo, have convinced me that great hairiness of the body is a strong characteristic of the Aino men, and the evidence of this is to be seen in the photographs which I have brought home.

The Ainos are small in stature, although rather larger than the Japanese. They are more strongly built, and doubtless endowed with greater powers of endurance. In color they are rather brown than yel-
[515 low, but scarcely darker than the Japanese. On this point, however, it is difficult to speak with confidence, for they do not bathe or wash, and the natural color of the skin is not often seen. The hair and beard,

* Trans. Asiatic Society Japan, XI, 33-50.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

H-2
291
302
516

TSUISHIKARI AINOS.

[Facing p. 440 (A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

42
302
291
531
516

TSUISHIKARI AINO.

[Facing p. 440 (8)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

M2
302
291
516

GROUP OF AINOS, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 440(c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302
531

AINO, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302
417

AINO, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 442 (8)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

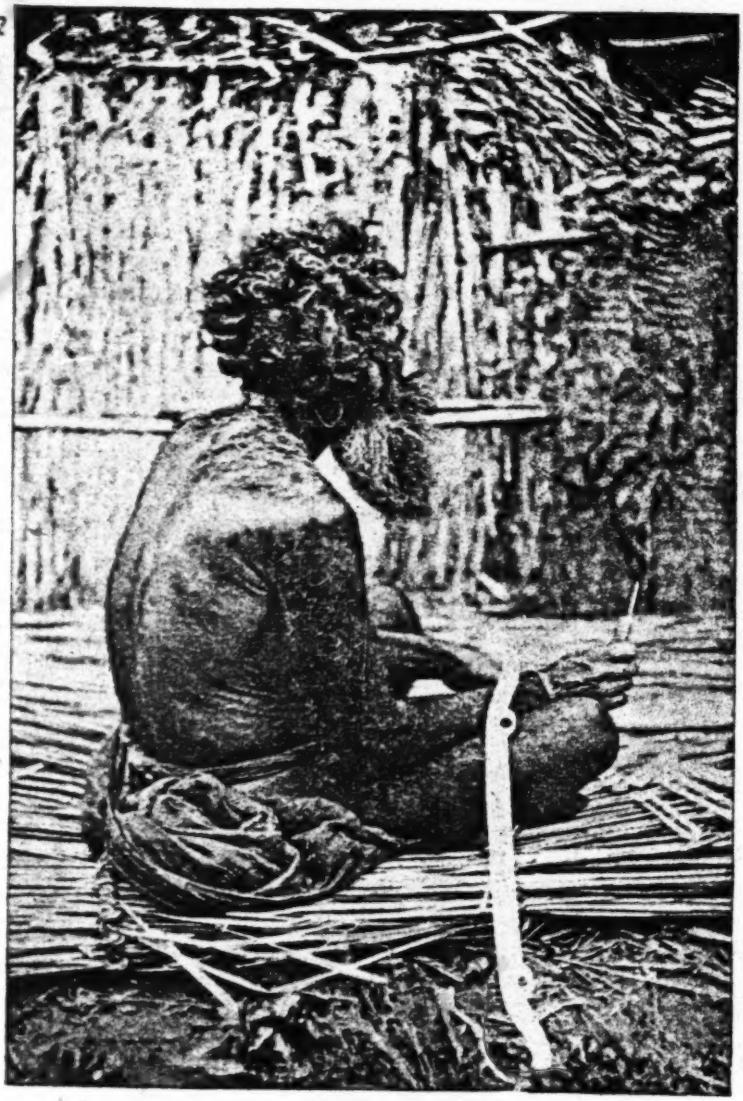
M2
291
302
417

AINO, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 442 (c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
291
516



AINÓ, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (6)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
304
302
301
531
291

AINO GIRL, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (F)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302
342

AINO WOMEN, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 442 (G)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302

AINO GIRLS, TOKORO.

[Facing p. 442 (H)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
304
291

AINO GIRL, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (J)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

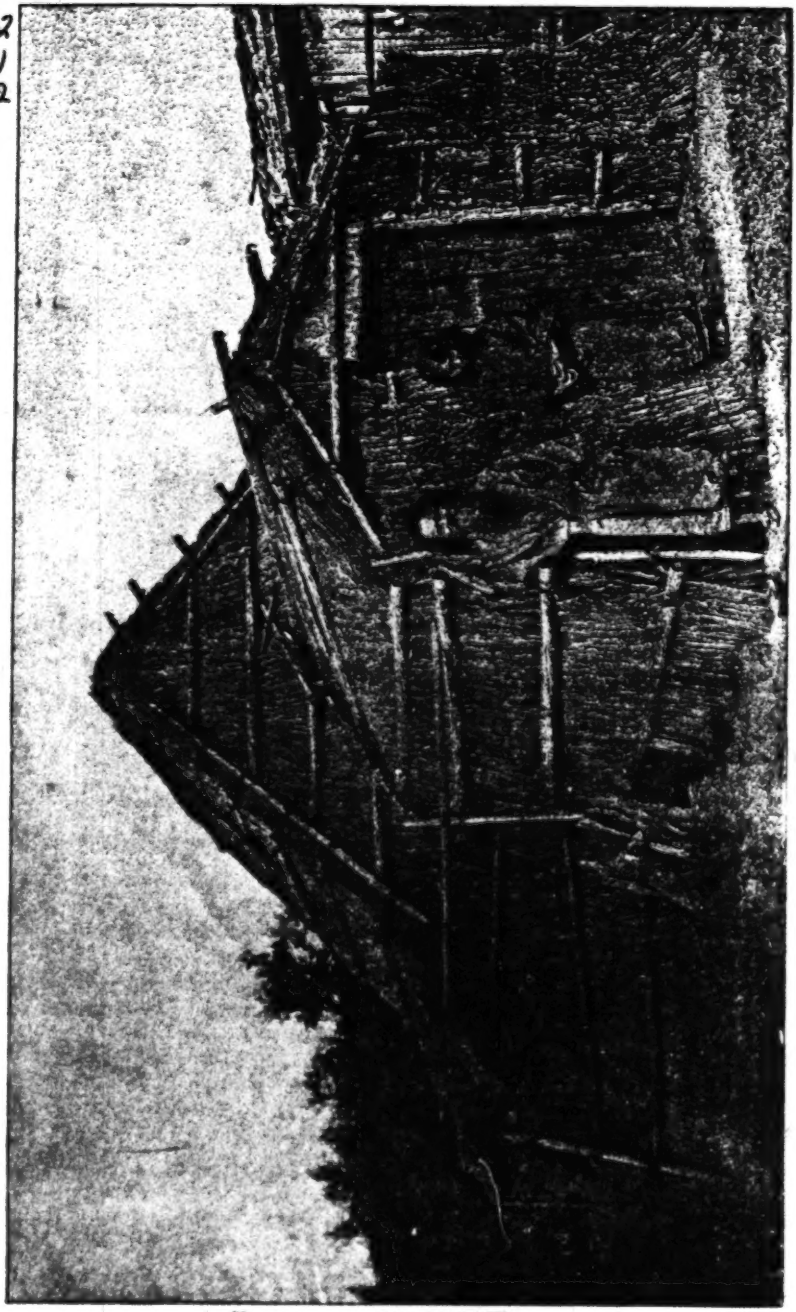
142
302
291
342

OLD WOMAN, TOKORO.

[Facing p. 450 (1)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
291
302

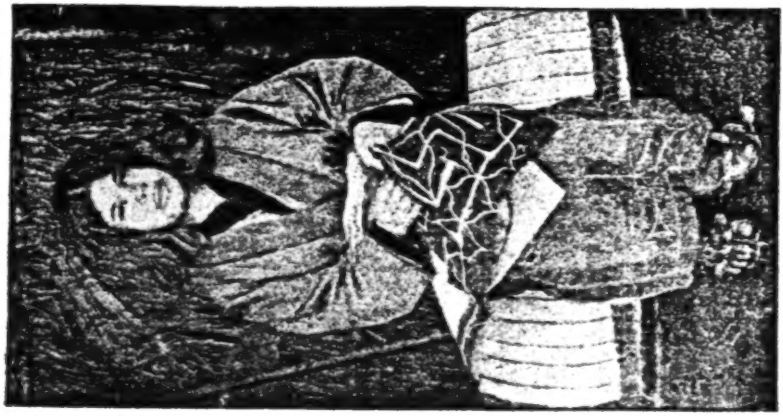


AINO HOUSE, SHARI.

[Facing p. 450 (R)]

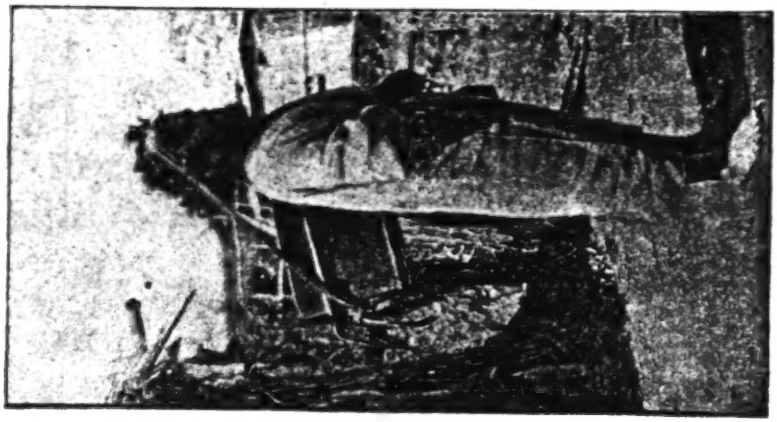
3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

531
302
291
142



GIRL EMBROIDERING.

482
291



MAN CARRYING A TUB.

[Facing p. 464(B)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

576
291
302

AINO CHIEFS SALUTING.

[Facing p. 464 (c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

576
291
302

AINOS GREETING.

[Facing p. 464 (D)]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

could make out my surroundings clearly enough. There was an old man, perfectly naked, with a fine head, long white hair and beard, sitting on the ground among a mass of sea-weeds, which he was disentangling and packing. Two young women and two young men, with bright, intelligent eyes and high cheek-bones, were helping him in his work. In their quiet, gentle way they all brought their hands forward, each rubbed the palms together, and, lifting the arms, slowly stroked their hair, and the men their beard with the backs of their hands, while the women rubbed the first finger under the nose from the left to the right. This is their salutation, and it is most graceful. They seemed pleased to see me, and asked me to sit down. As there were neither chairs nor sofas, stools nor cushions, I squatted on the ground.

AINU WOMAN SALUTING.

Most Ainu of Volcano Bay understand Japanese, and they also speak it, interpolating Ainu words when necessary, so I began a conversation. My presence did not seem to disturb them or arouse their curiosity, and, beyond gazing at the mother-of-pearl buttons on my white coat, they did not appear to be struck by me. Evidently the buttons were much more interesting to them than the person who wore them. Now and then they uttered a few words, but whenever one spoke some of the company seemed to be angry, as at an impertinence or a breach of etiquette. Men and women wore large ear-rings or pieces of red or black cloth, which added a great deal to their picturesqueness ; but the women were disfigured by a long moustache tattooed across the face from ear to ear. Rough drawings adorn the arms and hands of the women, and some of the younger females would undoubtedly be fine-looking if not disfigured by the tattoos, for they carry themselves well when walking, and possess comely features. Judging from appearances, I should think them very passionate.

Coming out of the hut I saw a scene which I shall never forget. Two naked boys, covered with horrible skin eruptions, had got hold of a large fish-bone, out of which they

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

transcribing them. I was, however, much surprised to find that such learned Europeans could yield such ready credence to a barbarian Ainu chief.

Thinking that it would please me, Benry told me the story of a deluge and a big flood, in which nearly all the Ainu were drowned. The few that escaped did so by finding refuge on a high mountain.

"Where did you learn this story, Benry?" I asked sternly.

"Nishpa, it is an old Ainu story, and all strangers who come to Piratori write it in their books."

"Oh, no, Benry, you know well that *one* stranger did not write it in his book," said I quickly, as if I knew all about it.

"Oh, yes, nishpa; *that* was the stranger who told me the story!"

This small anecdote shows how careful one ought to be in accepting information which may sound extremely interesting at first, but is absolutely worthless in the end.

AINU MAN WAVING HIS MOUSTACHE-LIFTER PREVIOUS TO DRINKING.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Unfortunately, the Ainu of this region[1] are not very numerous, and constant intermarriage among near relations has proved detrimental to the race. However, a glance at them is quite sufficient to show the difference between them and Ainu of other tribes. They are not so picturesquely arrayed as their more western brothers, and the large Japanese brass and silver earrings, as well as the glass bead necklaces which make such a brave show yonder, are replaced here by

AINU WOMAN OF PRISHIKORETS, ON THE TOKACHI RIVER.

rough bone or wooden ornaments. Men and women in summer are almost entirely naked, and all children are clad in their own bare skins only. Their winter garments are made of bear and deer skins. Some peculiar snow-sandals, made of the bark of a kind of ash-tree called *shina*, are sometimes worn over the winter salmon-skin boots or moccasins. The Ainu make their ropes out of the bark of this *shina*, though often young vine stems are used for the same purpose. River fishing-nets are generally made of young vines twisted. They are of the roughest description, and are only fit for

[1 i.e., the Tokachi River region --Analyst]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

147
●302

AINU MAN OF THE UPPER TOKACHI.

CHAPTER VIII.

From the Tokachi River to the Kutcharo River.

I DECIDED to stop a day at Otsu, so as to recover from the fatigue of my late travels and adventures, and I chose my quarters in the *yadoya* of a Japanese called Inomata Yoshitaro. I was told that he was an ex-convict. Be that as it may, he had now turned into a fisherman and innkeeper. Like all Japanese, he was an inexhaustible talker, and his politeness was so great that it became a bore.

It was about three in the morning when I reached Otsu. I had taken off my boots on entering his house—for it is an insult to enter Japanese houses with one's boots on—and I had seated myself on the soft mat in order to rest my aching limbs, when Yoshitaro made me get up to place a small

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
291

AINU WOMAN OF KURILE ISLANDS.

CHAPTER XII.

The Kurile Islands.

FROM Nemuro I put to sea in a miserable little Japanese craft—a kind of tug-boat—which once or twice a year goes to the principal islands of the Kurile group, and brings back their products to Nemuro. It is needless to say that I was the only passenger on board, though it is fair to add that the saloon was large enough to "accommodate" two, but not more. As for the only cabin, it had two berths, one over the other, but no available space for dressing or undressing, which therefore had to be got through outside, unless it was to be done by instalments, lying down in the berth itself. I shall spare my readers a minute description of this "ocean clipper," her tonnage, and horse-power, and I shall not attempt to narrate the many disadvantages of travelling in a ship engaged in the fish-manure, dried-fish, and sea-weed trade. These three very strongly scented articles speak for themselves without the need of words.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rest of the Ainu, in some small details they cannot but differ from them.

Shikotan was a deserted island previous to these poor wretches being transplanted there by the Japanese Government. It does not abound in game, like Shimushir, Urup, or Poromushir, whence they were taken.

SHIKOTAN AINU.

The story of this tribe of Ainu is a sad one. Hunting, sealing, and fishing were their only aims in life, their only pastimes, the only things they lived for. At Shikotan they have none of these things. There is no big game; the only animal found being a beautiful species of white long-tailed fox. There are no large rivers at Shikotan; there is hardly any vegetation, and the whole island is nothing but a mass of barren rocks.

The food of the Kurilsky Ainu consisted chiefly of meat of bear and seals, berries, and eggs of sea-birds. They were a migratory people, and in their small cranky canoes they often crossed from one island to another, carrying with them all their property, consisting of skin garments and fishing and hunting implements, these latter the same as those employed by other Ainu. The dress of the men is shaped like a short tunic, made of sea-birds' skins, with the feathers inside. Some of the smart ones are trimmed with seal, and they are worn fastened round the waist with a girdle of sealskin or a belt of sea-lion hide, often ornamented with molten lead buttons or Chinese cash. The women's garment is much longer, and reaches nearly to the feet; it falls loosely, and has long sleeves covering the hands; it is fastened with a girdle in bad weather, and the gown is then pulled up to the knee, showing the long yellow boots. When carrying water or working this is also done, as it gives greater freedom to the limbs, making walking and all movement much easier. A red,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

yellow, or brightly-coloured handkerchief, of Russian manufacture, is tied round the neck and another round the back of the head, and this makes the women look like Italian peasants. As the gown is worn usually loose it has the identical shape of a dressing-gown; it is ornamented with yellow feathers of puffins round the neck and the edge. Both men and women wear either moccasins, or long boots made of sealskin, with the fur inside, or else they wear salmon-skin boots, like the Ainu of Yezo. No woman that I saw at Shikotan had a moustache tattooed round her lips, or any tattoo marks on her arms. Very few of them wore earrings, though all had the ears bored for that purpose, and had worn them. The earrings which they possessed were mostly strings of coral beads and metal ornaments of Russian manufacture, which, like the brightly-coloured handkerchiefs, they had received in bartering with the crew of a sealing schooner. Since they have been at Shikotan the men have been presented with old caps and overcoats, similar to those of the Japanese police. Previous to this, however, when the Kuriles were under the rigid Russian *régime*, the Kurilsky Ainu men were compelled to trim their hair and beard, which was the first step taken by the priests of the Coptic Church in Christianising these nomadic barbarians. When this hair-dressing order was complied with, as the first link of the chain, the Coptic creed was enforced on them, and the barbarous Kurilsky Ainu became well-trimmed orthodox Christians.

At Shikotan, as it is, fishing on a small scale is their main occupation, praying the next, and Jacko, the chief of the village, is the high priest. Jacko's predecessor, in fulfilling the duties of this high post, was a man who had dropped his Ainu name, and had been baptized as Alexandrovitch. His house is now occupied by Jacko. It is the first on the right-hand side when the village is entered from the harbour side, and it is larger than any of the others; it is built of wood instead of rushes and reeds. The interior is divided into two rooms, and in the second are three stands, the middle one of which has a cross on it. On each of these stands is a Russian Bible, with images hanging on the page-marks. Several rough stools and a couple of benches are placed in rows in front of these stands, and on the walls hang two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

or three Russian religious images. Taken altogether, and compared with other Ainu huts, Jacko's chapel had quite a stately appearance.

Just as the Ainu of Yezo have partly acquired the Japanese language, the Kurilsky Ainu have learned to talk Russian, besides speaking an Ainu dialect.

On Sundays, or on any day which Jacko thinks is a Sunday, the chief reads the mass before a congregation of the other fifty-nine hairy Christians of the Russian Orthodox Church; he does not spare them a sermon, which sometimes lasts half the day, and his audience are most attentive and well behaved. None of them would think of leaving church before service is over; but one detail in which these hairy Christians are not yet fully Christianised is, that no collection plate is ever sent round! The Kurilsky Ainu have undoubtedly accepted the form of their adopted religion, but I rather doubt whether they have fallen in with the principle. Their former barbarian ideas and superstitions are still well rooted in their brain, and each individual was a curious and enviable combination of a perfect heathen and a thorough Christian, according to what suited him or her better at the time being. In other words, they believed in two diametrically opposed principles, one of which fitted in with every phase of their life when the other was deficient.

As many as ninety people, all told, were landed at Shikotan, but thirty had already succumbed when I visited the island. A graveyard on a hill on the west side of the village was indeed a sad reminder of this fact. It will not be long before all the others will pass away, for consumption and rheumatism have a great hold on most of the wretches. In ten years from now, I dare say, not one of the Kurilsky tribe of Ainu will be left on this earth. It is pitiful that the last remains of these independent people will end their days secluded and in exile on the barren rocks of Shikotan.

As it is, they seem to take life easily, and, with a characteristic proper to all nomadic peoples, they make the best of what they can get. They are not shy, and they have dropped the formalities and grand salutations of other Ainu. They are, however, as dirty, especially in their homes. The women dress their hair in small tresses.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

spot on her upper lip. She walked a few steps forward, and when she saw me she stopped. She looked at me and I looked at her. Hers, with her soft eyes, was one of those looks which a man feels right through his body, notwithstanding all the self-control he may possess. There she stood, a graceful silhouette, with a bucket made of tree-bark in one hand and a vine-tree rope in the other, her supple figure almost motionless, and her eyes fixed on me. She was the most lovely Ainu girl I had ever come across, and not nearly so hairy as most of them. Indeed, in that soft twilight, and her wavy long hair blown by the fresh breeze, she was a perfect dream.

AN AINU BELLE.

"Wakka!" ("Water!") cried an angry old voice from inside the hut, interrupting the beginning of our romance, and she sadly went to the brook, filled her bucket with water, and took it into the hut. It was only a few seconds before she reappeared, and came closer, and I finished the sketch somewhat hurriedly.

"Let me see the tattoo on your arm," I asked her, and to my surprise the pretty maid took my hand in both her own, gave me one of those looks that I shall never forget, and her head fell on my shoulder. She clutched my hand tightly, and pressed it to her chest, and a force stronger than myself brought her and myself to the neighbouring forest. There we wandered and wandered till it grew very dark; we sat down, we chattered, we made love to each other; then we returned.

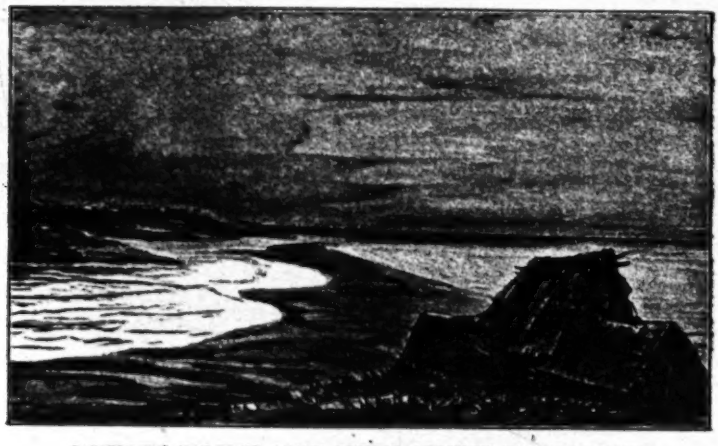
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123
158 brushes in order to take his likeness. I had till then relied on my power of "willing" people, when my host, seizing the opportunity of my turning my head away for one moment,

MY HOST, THE MADMAN.

grabbed the stone which he had picked up, and threw it with great force at me. I was hit in the ribs, and was hurt sufficiently to lose my temper. I went for him, and gave him a sound thrashing, which sometimes has more effect than all the "willing" in the world. He became docile after that, and I took him outside and forced him to squat down.

133
342



SARUBUTS, SHOWING RIVER-COURSE ALTERED BY DRIFT SAND.

CHAPTER XV.

On the North-East Coast—From Poronai to Cape Soya.

000 IT was late in the evening when I arrived at Poronai.[1] Saruru,
[361] the last village I had passed, had only six Ainu and three Japanese huts, and the nine or ten miles between there and this place were most uninteresting. I was taken across one of
49 the quicksand rivers in the ferry by a lovely Ainu girl of about
29 twelve years of age. I have never seen a more picturesque being than she was. She was partly dressed in skins, but half her chest was bare; her wildly-curled black hair fell over her
● [302] shoulders, and while gracefully paddling across the ferry she occasionally threw back her head, thus shaking back the hair that the wind had blown over her eyes.

142 I have often noticed how supple the children of savages are, and how like in ease and grace and unconscious rhythm their movements are to those of wild animals. Sometimes, to be sure, they have the jerky, quick, and ungraceful movements of monkeys, but as a rule their actions are unconsciously graceful. Of course, with our children such unconscious grace is rare at any time, even when found at all, as from the day when they

[1] *Poro*, large; *nai*, stream.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the herring fishery. There are no Ainu to be found either at Tomamai or Onishika.

I continued my lonesome ride in the pouring rain, and soon came to a peculiar long tunnel, natural and partly excavated, between this place and Rumoi, a village prettily situated on the slope of a hill fifteen miles further. This place possesses a small anchorage at the mouth of the river, which is now only fit for junks and small sailing-boats, but could be considerably improved. Good coal has been discovered some way up the river. There is a track on the cliffs leading to Mashike. All along the coast are any number of fishermen's houses, but they were all closed and barricaded. Ultimately, descending from the cliffs in a zig-zag fashion, after another ten miles' ride I found myself at Mashike, the largest Japanese village in the Teshio district. Close to the tunnel there is a small Ainu village, where the natives let their hair grow very long, and then tie it up in a kind of knot, similar to the Corean fashion of head-dress, while the women have given up tattooing altogether. The fishermen at Mashike seem to suffer greatly from "*Kaki*," or rheumatism, and cancer, while consumption, malarial fever, and typhus are in a small proportion.

I had to stop over one day at Mashike, for the river was swollen by the heavy rains, and it was impossible to get across. On the other side of it stood Mashike-san, a huge volcanic mountain rising sheer from the sea, and forming Cape Kamuieto, under the shelter of which lies Mashike village; and further south Cape Uhui projects into the sea. It is the end of a mountain range which here runs north and then south again, in the latter part forming one side of the upper basin of the Teshio River. Mashike is the largest settlement either on the north-east or west coast of Yezo. Its population is partly migratory, but not so wholly as is the case with the villages I had previously passed. I was delayed still another day owing to the condition of the river; for the rain, instead of decreasing, poured down to such an extent that the stream could not be crossed, the current being too swift and the water too deep. The sea was also too rough to allow of my leaving Mashike in a canoe.

On the third day I rose early, and decided to attempt this much-desired crossing of the river. It had not rained during

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a wish that I should inspect the prisons. A splendid horse was sent to convey me thither, and two policemen helped me on my progress through the buildings, owing to my inability to walk more than a few yards at a time. It was a large walled enclosure, with houses for the officials and cells for the *akambos*, a jocular term, meaning "babies," which is applied to convicts, because they wear red clothes like children. The buildings were beautifully clean, but what astonished me most was that no precaution whatever was adopted to prevent convicts from escaping. The outside gates were all wide open; there were neither soldiers nor policemen at the gates, and, moreover, the *concierge* was himself a convict!

"But," said I, "do not many of these fellows escape?"

"Oh, no, not many. Last month only sixteen ran away," was the *insouciant* answer of my guide.

From Poronai-buts to Sappro there is a small railway, by which the coal trains are run to the coast as far as Otaru.

WOMAN OF ISHIKARI RIVER.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

of picturesque waterfalls over the high cliffs down on to the beach. As the beach was narrow, this meant each time a cold shower-bath, which, however, did not much matter, for I was already drenched by the rain, and I had no very "swell" garments to spoil, as my readers know.

Shitzo is an old-looking place, but there is nothing attractive about it. It is in a small bay sheltered by Cape Benke, but

AINU HALF-CASTE CHILD OF VOLCANO BAY.

its anchorage is only fit for junks or very small skiffs. It is much exposed to northerly and easterly winds. The coast from Shitzo to the Cape is lined with rocky bluffs and cliffs of conglomerate and volcanic formation, with bare hills inland.

There are many reefs stretching out, both along the coast and off the Cape; but in many places channels are cut in them, to all appearance produced by some remote volcanic action.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

eyelids are no thicker than those of Caucasian races, though they droop, as is common among people exposed to the full glare of the sun. The broad ridges being very heavy and prominent, cover part of the upper eyelid over the outer angle of the opening. The eyelashes are extremely long, and the eyebrows are shaggy and bushy. The eyes are full of animal-like expression and emotional warmth, a thing very rare with their neighbours the Japanese or Chinese. The long eyelashes shading the large eyes and rendering them soft, together with their pathetic and slow way of talking, make men and women singularly interesting. Like most animals, the Ainu can "speak" with their eyes.

The hair in Ainu adults is for the most part black, wavy, and easily breaking into large curls. Among children, however, one sees brown shades, which darken with years, until the hair turns quite black. Along the north-east coast of Yezo I came across several Ainu adults who had reddish hair and beard; and in the Kurile Islands, at Shikotan, several of the children had light auburn hair hanging in large loose curls and rather flaxy in texture, while the hair of adults was even darker than that of the Yezo Ainu.

The hair, which is coarse and strong, is uniformly and thickly planted over the whole scalp, and reaches well down over the forehead, where, as my readers will remember, a space is cut out or shaved off. It grows long in men as in women, but when it exceeds ten or twelve inches it is generally trimmed in the shape of a half-circle at the back of the head, and is cut off level with the shoulders at the sides. The men have a luxuriant beard, whiskers, and moustache, which grow to a great length. The hair of the beard often begins directly under the eyes, and covers all the lower part of the face. Many of the natives also have a few short coarse hairs on the nose (especially noticeable in natives of the north-east coast of Yezo). The beard, whiskers, and moustache begin to grow in the Ainu when they are fairly young. A man at about twenty can grow a good beard, and at thirty his beard is very long. Ainu women, whom nature has not provided with such a luxuriant growth of hair on the lower part of the face, make up for it by having a long moustache tattooed on the upper and lower lip, which in their idea makes them look "very manly" (see Tattoos).

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

301 pendants with bits of bone, metal, or broken beads inlaid in it, which hang to the necklace, rest on the breast. Large Japanese sword-hilts are often used as pendants by the Volcano Bay natives.

[184] The Ainu of the Upper Tokachi region had none of these beads, but a rough wooden pendant was suspended round their neck by a leather string.

293 Girdles are worn by men and women for two purposes—first, to keep their clothes together; next, to support the large knives which the Ainu always carry with them.

The Ishikari Ainu who lived formerly in Sakhalin wear leather belts, and the women wear besides a peculiar cloth [531] headgear. Both these articles are ornamented with drops of melted lead and Chinese cash sewn on to the cloth.

291 [554] These are all the articles of clothing and ornament which are in common use among the Ainu. None of them are worn as symbols of rank, or to denote virginity. No Ainu can explain why he or she wears one thing more than another, except for the reason that he or she likes it. There are no Ainu laws as regards clothing, and with the exception of the "chief," who on special occasions dresses more gaudily, and [509] wears a crown made either of willow-tree shavings or dried sea-weed, with a small carved-wood bear head in front, they all dress pretty much alike. A chief could not be distinguished from a commoner by his everyday clothing.

●302 Speaking of personal ornamentation, I may as well describe the way in which the hair is dressed, and also the tattoo-marks.

Little care is taken of the long hair, which reaches down to the shoulders. It is never washed, nor brushed, nor combed. At the back it is cut in a semicircle round the neck. Over the forehead the men shave a small part of the long hair, which, falling over their eyes, is uncomfortable to them; but women do not. Until lately this shaving was done with sharp shells, and wives shaved their husbands. The process was said to be rather painful, and the thoughtful women have now adopted knives for that purpose, to the great delight of the stronger sex. The part shaved is in the shape of a lozenge two and a half inches by two inches respectively from angle to angle. This open space causes the hair to part in two different

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

directions and hang down in large wavy curls. The fingers are occasionally passed through it, and then with the palms of the hands it is plastered down on both sides.

A characteristic Ainu method of making the morning "toilette" is to bend the head low and let the long hair fall over the forehead. The two hands are then placed under it on the temples, and suddenly and violently the head is shaken and thrown back, the hair being pressed down by the hands at the same time. If the first attempt at neatness is not approved of, the process is repeated two or more times. I must confess that personally I could seldom see any marked difference between a head of hair "dressed" and one "not dressed"; but it must be remembered that the Ainu have no looking-glasses, and what they think is right is of course right for them.

Formerly, when an old woman lost her husband she had her head entirely shaved, and when the hair had grown long again she repeated the process as a proof of fidelity and affection to her deceased spouse. It is very rarely done now. She used to wear a sort of cap, with an aperture at the top, round the crown of the head during the time that her hair was short; and it was incumbent on the widow to wear a look of sorrow and pain till her hair grew long again.

The Ainu men have long beards and moustaches, which are never trimmed, with the exception of the Kurilsky Ainu, who trim theirs. The beard begins to grow when they are very young, but it is shaved till they reach manhood. It is then left to grow naturally, and never touched again as long as they live. Ainu women, whom nature has not favoured with such a manly ornament, supplement their deficiency by having a long moustache tattooed on their lips. Their hands and arms are also tattooed.

The tattooing among the Ainu is limited to the fair sex, and it is confined to the head and arms. Why and when the fashion was adopted is not known, and the semi-Ainu legends on the subject are very vague. One legend says that when the Ainu conquered Yezo, which was then inhabited by a race of dwarfs — "the Koro-pok-kuru" — some Koro-pok-kuru women came to the Ainu camp to beg food from them, and they did so by passing their arms through the reed walls of

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291
302
516

NAKED AINU MAN FROM THE NORTH-EAST COAST OF YEZO, PACKING SEAWEED FOR WINTER USE.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Physiological Observations—Pulse-beat and Respiration—Exposure—Odour of the Ainu—The Five Senses.

121 THE following physiological remarks are mostly from observations made on Ainu of the Upper Tokachi district, the natives of which have had no communication with Europeans and little with Japanese previous to my own visit to them. Observations made on the semi-civilised Ainu of Volcano Bay and

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114
292
177
302
142

PLATE I. The author with an elder wearing Japanese ceremonial robe given for services rendered early in this century.

[p. 30, (A)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

976
796
782

[516]

[291]
[302]
[142]

1.

2.

[532]

3.

4.

Fig. 1. Uesanash giving ritual dismissal to Imosh Kamui.
Fig. 2. Rennuikesh Ekashi giving ritual dismissal to Penup Kamui.
Fig. 3. Imosh Kamui dismantled at the *nusa* erected for him with the *inau* appropriate to the highest *kamui*.
Fig. 4. Penup Kamui.

PLATE VIII. DANGEROUS KAMUI.

[P. 30, (H)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

1.

3.

2.

4.

Figs. 1 and 2. Man making ritual salutation (*ongami*).

Figs. 3 and 4. Woman performs ritual salutation (*rainsk*).

Note *akushi* wears ceremonial headband and tunic.

PLATE XV. RITUAL SALUTATION.

[p. 30, (d)]

579
516
291
292
302

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342
353
354
516
● 302
291

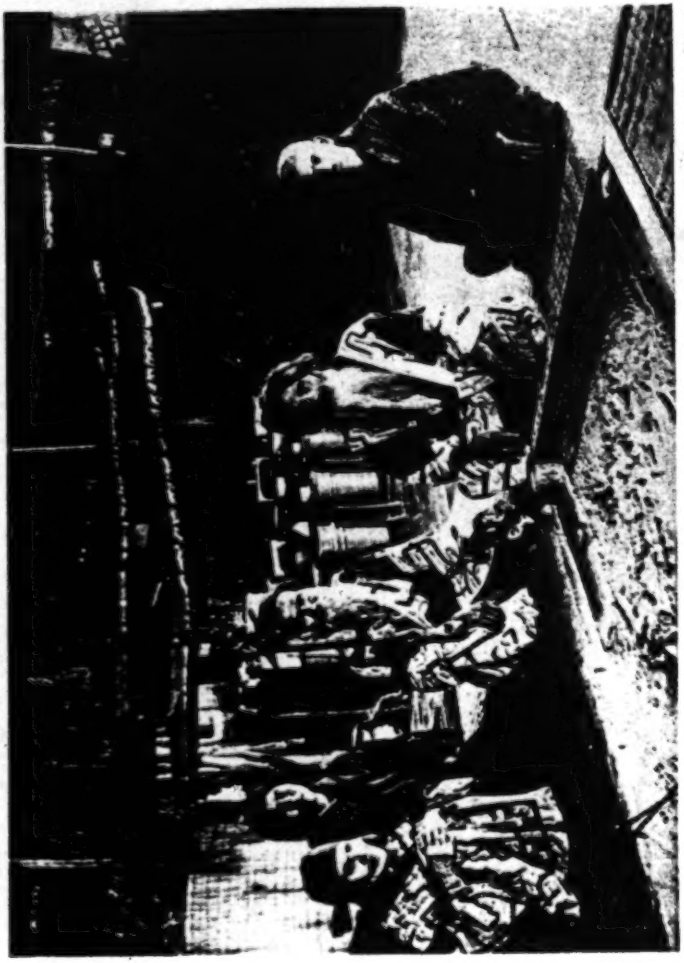
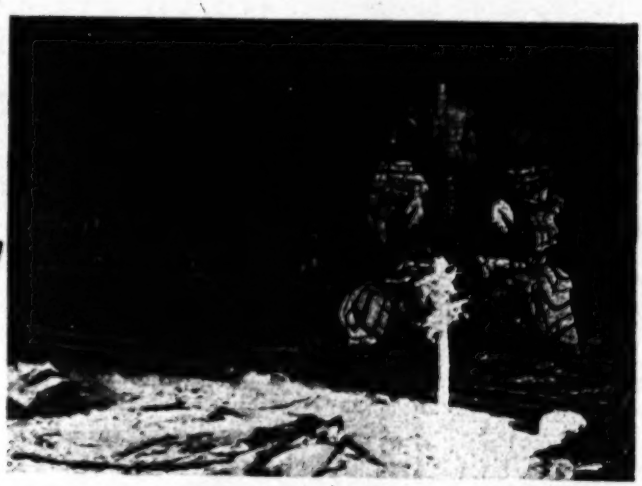


PLATE XIV. Inside the house, the householder sitting at the north-east corner of the hearth with the pothook hanging beside him.

[p. 30, (V)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4, 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

531
302
142
292
782
755
516
[352]



[133]

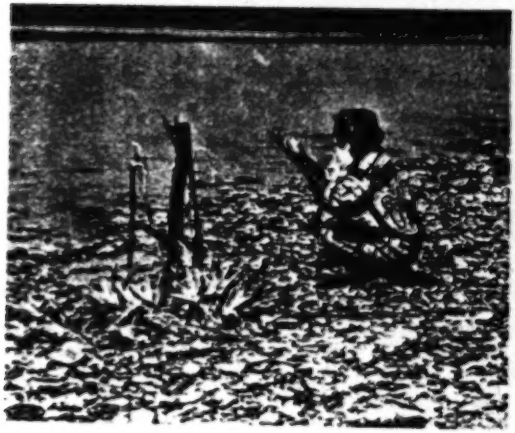


Fig. 1. The *ekashi* makes a preliminary prayer to Kamui Fuchi.
Fig. 2. At the river bank, the *ekashi* calls on the good *kamui* of the home to fight against the evil *kamui*.
Fig. 3. The *ekashi* invoking Mintushi Kamui (a water spirit).

PLATE XVII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (A)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782
755
516
[346]

Fig. 1. *Ekashi* prays to Mintara-koro Kamui before exorcism rites.

[142]
[302]
[292]
[531]

Fig. 2. *Ekashi* invokes Ru-koro Kamui (*kamui* of the privy) before exorcism rites.

PLATE XIX. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78 (C)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

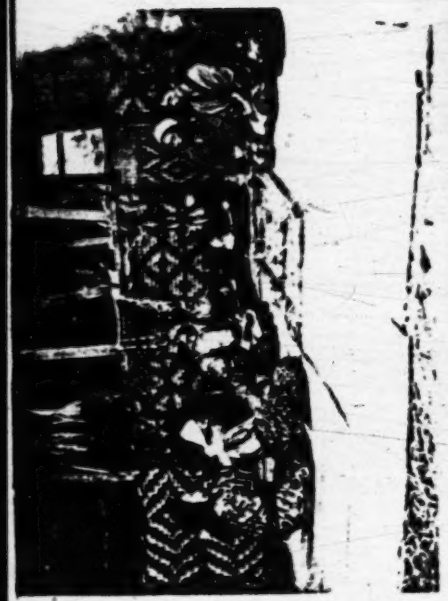


Fig. 1. An *imu* woman diagnoses the spirit responsible for patient's trouble. Fig. 2. *Imu* woman in a trance state. Fig. 3. *Ekashi* treats a patient possessed by an evil snake with the image of Kinashut Kamui at the *nusa* set up for him. Fig. 4. *Ekashi* treats patient possessed by a hornet.

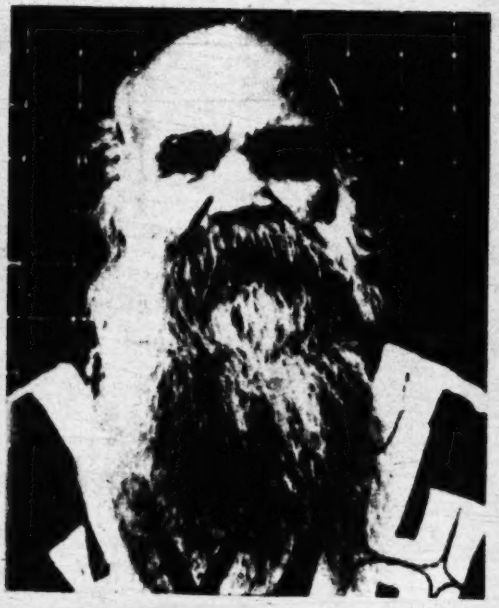
PLATE XXI. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (E)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
115

1.



2.

3.

Fig. 1. Isonash, an informant. Fig. 2. Kotan Pira, an informant about 78 years old.
Fig. 3. Shirambe, another informant, aged 74.

PLATE XXXI. SOME OF MY INFORMANTS.

[p. 78, (0)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

292
291
302
142
531
115

Fig. 1. Tumashnuri Ekashi, a teacher who spent nearly half his life in Sakhalin.

142
302
291
115

Fig. 2. Jensuke, my young Ainu assistant.

PLATE XXXII. MORE INFORMANTS.

[p. 78, (P)]

DEATH AND BURIAL

765

wenbe-otta maratto (after-calamity repast). Vessels of water are put ready outside for the mourners to wash their faces and hands. The [515] method of using the ladle for pouring out water is reversed, i.e. it [783] is moved from left to right. On the way back the mourners are purified by brushing, particularly when passing through a narrow valley or ravine where evil spirits might lurk. The mourners are said to be *ikeshui utara* (normally 'indignant' but here 'perturbed'). After washing they go into the house, the near relatives sitting close to where the body had laid.

Once more the visitors perform in turn the ceremony of mutual [576] condolence with renewed weeping. The ceremonial seating extends along the hearth and on to the sacred window. The elder who made [782] the funeral oration now prays to Kamui Fuchi, but without making the usual offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Starting with *'fuo!'* and speaking in a loud voice, he thanks her that all has been done safely and asks for further protection. The usual word for thanks is not mentioned; instead a paraphrase is used, *uepoki iko-ongami*, which may be translated 'bowed down in worship'. The meal, which rests on the hearth before being eaten, is of the usual kind.

Former Customs

764 Twenty years before these descriptions were recorded the follow- 178 ing funeral customs were observed. The inner coat was turned 291 inside out. The outer, though not always reversed, was put on over the head to which the armhole of a sleeve was often adjusted. [593] Here this custom is remembered as confined to the relationship of husband and wife. After the funeral the surviving spouse turned 765 the inner garment before entering the house, but left the outer one 178 outside to air and put on a fresh one in the same manner. This was 291 clearly a method of disguise and was called *unaina* (mutual hiding). A widow might retain the reversed inner garment for a couple of years; the outer one while indoors for six months. One or two aged Ainu still reverse the inner garment for a week or ten days. When [302] men and women wore their hair to shoulder length, which men seldom do now, it was customary to cut it horizontally at the level of the eyes and ears. Now a slight clipping is occasionally removed. Widows wore for about six months what was known as a weeping [292] cap (*chish konji*), which was simply a strip of black cloth doubled and sewn on one side.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

DEATH AND BURIAL

Other differences are as follows. Dried fish, an essential funeral food at Mokoto and Pihoro, is not eaten at Shiranoka. Food is not offered to the corpse but placed on the hearth, and the deities Abe-ochi Ekashi and Fuchi Kamui and the spirits in Pekere Moshiri, called lighted world by Monkaro Ekashi, are relied on to provide it. Some stitches are removed from the garment for the corpse and only one knot is permitted in fastening it. A black-and-white mourning cap is fastened with wooden buttons which are broken. The mat is fastened after lacing with arrow-shaped buttons. They differ slightly according to sex and are probably intended as amulets for the dead. All grave-goods are broken at the grave. The sword, damaged or broken, is tied in the burial mat reversed, that is with the handle towards the feet. A Japanese sword-guard (*tsuba*) is sometimes placed with the corpse of a woman to give her strength and courage in her new surroundings. The common meal is eaten after the corpse has been laced up in the mat. Two women with garments reversed take food left over from the common meal and leave it on the ground at a safe distance from the house on the way to the grave.

The body is taken to the grave feet first. It is usual to halt occasionally and sprinkle some of the water, carried for the grave-post rite, near the head to refresh the departed. The grave-post is called 'wood person' (*ni-kuru*). At Pihoro the carrying-pole is usually set up in place of the grave-post, which was formerly reserved for Ainu of special standing. The forms of the posts differ from those in the south. The top of the male post resembles the letter Y, with a string of black cloth attached to one arm. Below there is carving and, it is said, an ancestral mark. The top of the female post is like the letter T, with two strips of cloth and no carving. Huge carved posts were formerly in vogue at Moshoto and other places in the north.

The grave is called earth-boat (*toi-chip*), a name which may be associated with myths of spirit boating in the heavenly river. Earth is heaped at the edges of the grave with branches and brambles to protect it. Relatives and mourners each throw in a handful of earth, and this is called earth scattering (*toi-charapa*). The farewell address here is given at the grave.

Near relatives returning from the grave with garments reversed take them off and shake them thoroughly outside the house, but don them again in the reversed manner. Rennuikesh says that

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

765
184
302
[912]

formerly all mourners cut off some of their hair, but that it is no longer the rule at Mokoto. In excess of grief a young widow may announce her determination never to marry again by cutting her hair short, but, as the wise old man remarked—'That does not prevent it from growing again!'

2: Schrenck--426 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu AB6

142
291
302

Ainu from Sakhalin: 1, 2, 3 -- Men; 4, 5 -- Women; 6 -- Boy

/411 cont./

000 G 302 171 000 animals for what the latter were doing to them.

Exactly the same hair style as the Gilyak have is found among their nearest neighbors, the Negda, Olcha, and their fellow tribesmen -- the Orok on Sakhalin (1). It may be pre-

1. Mamia Rinsô ("Tôtats-ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 189) has already noted for the Orok that they do not cut their hair, but let it hang down over the shoulders or wear it wound into a thick plait at the neck.

A 302 177 It may be pre-sumed that formerly the Ainu, too, had the same or a similar, more or less natural hair style, until they fell under the rule of the Japanese, and under pressure from them, as a sign of submission, adopted their present hair style, essentially similar to the one of the Japanese. As is known, the Japanese shave the hair on the forehead and crown, and at the back of the head they do not let it grow as long as do the Chinese nor plait it in a braid, but cut it to a certain length all around and gather it into a lock which, tied with a ribbon, rests on the crown in the direction of the forehead. Now, with the exception of this last point, which for a primitive people would be too elaborate and inconvenient and also require too much attention and care (2),

2. For example, in order not to disarrange their hairdo when sleeping, the Japanese, instead of a pillow, use a small wooden bench that is hollowed out to conform to the shape of the head.

A 175 302 177 the Ainu imitate their rulers. As early as 1622, Father Hieronymus de Angelis reported that the natives of Jesso /Yesso/ shear their hair in front so that there is no hair at the temples, but in the back wear it as long as the Japanese (that is, without a braid hanging down) (3), and Vries added that the women

175
302
177
[113]

/411 cont./

3. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second edition, Amsterdam, 1705, Part II, p. 57. Siebold, Aardrijks en volkenkund. toelicht., Amsterdam, 1858, p. 94.

there sometimes shear it all around like the men and sometimes allow it to grow long and put it up like the Japanese women (4).

4. Siebold, op. cit., p. 100.

According to Broughton (5), the women wear their hair, even

[113]

5. A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacif. Ocean, London, 1804, p. 105.

though they cut it all around, longer than the men. According to Krascheninnikof (6), the Ainu of the Kurile Islands shave the

[113]

6. "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /A Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 258).

hair from the forehead to the crown, but the women cut it only in front so that it does not fall into their eyes. From the photographs presented above (Pl. IV) it can be seen that the Ainu of southern Sakhalin, men and women, have the above-mentioned hair style. /412/ Farther to the north, however, where the Japanese rule comes to an end, the Ainu give up the hair style imposed upon them by the Japanese and wear their hair as the Gilyak do, that is, completely unshorn and plaited into a braid hanging down in the back. And, to be sure, they do this not only, say, on the west coast of Sakhalin in the border places where they live intermixed with the Gilyak, such as Ktheus (Ktausi), Porokotan (Gilyak Pilja-wo) (1), but also along the

302
177
171

[184]

[113]

1. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physik. Abtheil. der Exped.

/412 cont./

302 171 177 [113]

1. (cont.) der Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society/" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 65).

[184] east coast north of Ussuro, near Esturi, etc. (2), where there are

2. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129.

302 177 648 no Gilyak at all. This is not merely a consequence of the Gilyak influence upon the Ainu, as in some pieces of their clothing and elsewhere, but an act of political manifestation: as a sign that they have emancipated themselves from the rule of the Japanese and henceforth want to have nothing to do with them, they adopt the hair style of their neighbors who remained untouched by the Japanese yoke, one which they (as I suspect) -- and perhaps the tradition of it has been preserved among them -- even had themselves before they submitted to this yoke. Hence the Ainu regard the braid hanging down the neck as a symbol of freedom and independence from the Japanese. By the way, the pressure exerted by the latter on the Ainu regarding the hair style was limited to the head hair, but they did not have to cut off the beard, and, as is well known, it is extremely heavy among them, on account of which, as the Jesuit missionaries of old report (3), some of them carry a special little stick with them,

302 177 413

[113] 3. For instance, Father Aloisius Froes in a letter dated 1565; see Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht., etc., p. 93. Cf. also Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 93.

A
302 /412 cont./
199
413 with which they lift the mustache while drinking, an instrument that the other tribes on Sakhalin and in the Amur region, with less heavy or scanty beards, do not need.

Gi
302 The Ainu experience with the Japanese in regard to their
171 hair style is similar to that of the peoples living on the mainland from the Olcha upstream along the Amur and its tributaries with the Chinese. The Samagir on the Gorin and the Goldi differ
Gi
[184] sharply from their related neighbors, the Negda and the Olcha, with respect to their hair style: on the whole front of the head, from temple to temple, the hair is shaved off or cut short, and the rest is plaited into a braid hanging down the back (see Pl. III). This hair style is so common among them that it is even found on the Goldi living dispersed among the Olcha. As is well known, however, this is also the present hair style of the Chinese. In ancient times, however, the Chinese did not shave the hair on the front of the head, but let it grow all over and treated it with great care by gathering it together at the crown, tying it with a strip of cloth or a ribbon, decorating it with gold wire, etc. Indeed, it is said that at the time of the Han Dynasty (179-155 B.C.) one form of punishment for a crime was to shave off the culprit's
M /413/ head hair (1). Only after the presently ruling Manchu
302
648
656
171

1. Pauthier, Chine moderne ou descript. hist., géogr. et littér. de ce vaste emp., Part II, Paris, 1843 (L'Univers), p. 231.

dynasty ascended the Chinese throne did a governmental edict require the present hair style of Manchu type -- a measure which frequently encountered the most violent resistance, produced uprisings and rebellions, and in part could be carried out only by
000 the force of arms (2). The peoples of the Amur region under

M
113
302
648
171
656

2. Neuhof, Die Gesandtsch. der Ost-Indisch. Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederländ. an den Tartar. Cham u. nunmehr auch Sinisch. Kaiser /The Embassy of the East Indies Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Khan of

T 302 171 177 [131]

/415 cont./ southern part of their habitation area, along the eastern slopes of the great Chingan Mountains, around the tributaries of the Nonni, along the Nomin, Ganj, Gujuli, etc., where they live in complete dependence on the Daur and indirectly on the Chinese (4).

4. See p. 94 above.

they also certainly share the hair style of the latter, it gradually disappears going northward, and along the upper Amur and its northern tributaries, where, /416/ in spite of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, they have actually always remained under Russian influence and Russian rule, they have also retained their original and natural hair style, with the hair completely unshorn and either simply hanging down or tied up in a bunch on the crown (1).

T [113]

1. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhitel. Amura" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., P. 296). F. Busse, "Ocherk" uslovii zemled. v" Amurskom" kraie /Essay on the Agricultural Conditions in the Amur Region/" (Zap. dlia chteniia, izdav. k. Trubnikovym", August-December, 1869, p. 116).

A G Gi T SS 302 171 177 648

Thus, the way of wearing the hair among all the indigenous peoples of the Amur region is a sign of their dependence on or independence of the Manchu-Chinese, or, on Sakhalin, the Japanese. The boundary up to which the Chinese, among the Amur peoples, or on Sakhalin the Japanese, hair style extends designates at the same time the boundary of the effective rule of the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese over these peoples. It is a political, not an ethnographic border line: in the western part as well as in the eastern part of the Amur region and Sakhalin it runs across the habitation area of the peoples concerned (Orochon, Orochi, and Ainu), only at certain points separates closely related tribes (for example, the Olcha from the Samagir

A G Gi SS T 302 191 199 648 /416 cont./ and Goldi), and nowhere coincides with the boundary of such fundamentally different peoples as the Gilyak on the one hand and the Amur Tungus or Ainu on the other. Inasmuch as the degree of the dependence of the Amur peoples on the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese is of the greatest importance with regard to their whole existence and lives, however, this border line is also of great ethnographic interest.

G 301 191 Like the hair style, there is another aspect of the external appearance which to some extent characterizes individual peoples of the Amur region more than the clothing does -- it is the adornment worn on various parts of the body.

All the natives of the Amur region, and among them the Gilyak, have the use of earrings, or, more properly, ear pendants, in common. They consist either of only a silver or copper wire bent into a ring at the upper end and wound to a spiral shape at the lower end (small earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 7),[1] or of a silver wire bent into the shape of a large ring, on the upper and lower parts of which are strung large glass beads or circular disks of a grayish-white or greenish-white stone (jadeite) and pierced in the center (large earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 6). The men always wear only one earring in each lobe, the women, however, often two and three large pendants, sometimes several inches long, in each one, the weight of which distends the ear lobes far downward. Among Gilyak children I have occasionally seen, besides the metallic ring, a tuft of fox hair worn at the ear lobe, which may serve as protection against the cold as well as adornment. It is noteworthy that, aside from the earrings, the /417/ Gilyak, Olcha, Orok, and, as far as I know, also the Negda wear no other ornament on a head or facial part. Among the Samagir on the Gorin, the Goldi, and the Orochi, however, there is a second and similar ornament, which, to be sure, is limited to the female sex (1), among

Gi [301] Gi 301

1. Only once, quite as an exception, did Maack (Putesh. na Amur", p. 224) see this

3/1 [See category 116, p. 1009 -- Analyst]

G /419 cont./

302 304 171 First, as far as the Gilyak are concerned, I believe I can state with certainty that nothing of the kind occurs among them today. At least no trace of such a custom among them was encountered by me, despite frequent contact with them for several years. This is noteworthy inasmuch as this custom is found among their immediate neighbors on Sakhalin, the Ainu, and more or less among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, even though it may be gradually disappearing. In the Ainu area, the

A 302 304 [175] coloring or tattooing of certain parts of the body is practiced chiefly on Jesso /Yesso/. In the Japanese descriptions of this island, the Jeso-ki of Kannemon (1652) and Araï Tsikugo-no-Kami (1720), it is said that the Ainu women color their lips with the juice of the kudsi-gusa (or mouth-plant) and produce various flower- and cloud-like figures all around the mouth, as well as on the forehead, face, hands and feet, by means of needle pricks

A 304 A [113] and rubbing in a black substance (1). These tattooings are applied

1. "Descriptions de la terre Jesso, traduites du Japonais par Titsingh /Descriptions of the Land of Yesso, translated from the Japanese by Titsingh/" (Annales des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, pp. 155, 196). Cf. also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, translated from the original Japanese and Chinese, Paris, 1832, p. 231.

A [175] [184] to the girls in childhood by their mothers. They are also more or less discussed by the European or North American travelers who visited Jesso (2). To be sure, the same custom prevails

A [113] 2. For instance, by Vries (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations/, p. 100) and later by Broughton (A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 99, 105),